HOW TO CUT YOUR INCOME TAX by 15% to 25%!
See WHAT YOU CAN DO Section in this issue of HUMAN EVENTS

Human Events THE WASHINGTON NEWSLETTER

Vol. XVIII, No. 7 February 17, 1961 Section 1 — News

NIXON: *Speaks from the sheltering palms* (97)
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Re-Enter Nixon: That "forgotten man," former Vice President Richard Nixon, last week propelled himself explosively into the political picture with a vigor that has awakened Republican professionals from some weeks of sullen calm.

In an exclusive interview with a Hearst reporter in Miami, Nixon quite definitely said the following: (1) He is the leader of the GOP; (2) He will run for Governor of California next year; (3) He will not run for President in 1964. The sharpness of these statements contrasts with the vagueness of his plans as expressed to reporters when he left office on January 20.

What turned the recently defeated GOP candidate from philosophic relaxation to pugnacious party politics? He undoubtedly had become aware that, although millions of followers still hopefully look to him for leadership, the pros of his party privately, but definitely, have been relegating him to limbo.

Among themselves, they make no bones about thinking that Nixon lost the election by many mistakes in strategy and tactics.

One of the most significant signs of the pros' attitude appeared when four Republican Senators uttered tributes to the departing Vice President on the floor of the Senate. All four praised various phases of Nixon's political career and the assembled bouquet was impressive. The knife, however, hidden among the posies, was a striking omission: not one mention of the political race which ended in Nixon's defeat last November. Thuswise, these pros, former rooters for the VP for nomination and election, downgraded their erstwhile idol's political future.

Also, the day before the Miami interview, the New York *Times* ran a feature article headed "Nixon's Image Dims as Party Polarizes Around Rockefeller on Left and Goldwater on Right." The *Times* piece gave a rather generous examination of Goldwater, and his new "forgotten American" gospel. But even pros critical of Nixon's handling of the recent campaign concede he still enjoys the esteem of millions of voters.

Washington reporters venture a guess that this situation and the *Times* piece galvanized Nixon into vigorous, but somewhat hasty action. Instead of calling in the wire services and news correspondents in a full-dress press conference, he gave an exclusive to one reporter—thereby losing a much wider audience. Hence, little press notice has been given to the interview which appeared in lengthy and colorful prose in the New York *Journal American* on February 6.

Former GOP National Chairman Leonard Hall stood nearby during part of the Nixon interview. Hall has never felt much enthusiasm for Governor Nelson Rockefeller. The Hearst interviewer suggested that Nixon fired an oblique shot at Rockefeller when he emphasized the quote: "I am the leader of the party."

His first definite promise to run for Governor of California may have been a bid for the favor of powerful Senator Styles Bridges. The latter—a critic of the way Nixon ran the campaign—in an exclusive interview with HUMAN EVENTS on November 24, 1960, said Nixon would have to climb back to national position by election as California Governor, provided he ran as the old "punching" Nixon of pre-Eisenhower days.

On Capitol Hill, it is believed that Nixon, by promising to run next year in California, is "fixing" himself in a favorable position to be "drafted" by the party as its Presidential candidate in 1964.

He disclaims any Presidential intentions for that year, pledging that he will serve out his four-year term as Golden State Governor, if elected. But that is the conventional promise of big-state gubernatorial candidates—both Dewey and Rockefeller said the same, only later to change their minds. As 1964 approaches, and if Nixon looks like the indispensable man for the GOP ticket, he might well yield to pressure from the party. The door is always open to a "draft."

All in all, a significant flexing of muscles by the Californian. The first step towards power in Sacramento has been taken. But, Capitol Hill observes, it will require more than the statement "I am the leader of the party" to shape the policy of the GOP—which must be done by congressional leaders. That's the next problem which Nixon must tackle—and it won't be easy from a California date line.

Missiles: Washington notes with great interest President Kennedy's choice for Ambassador to Paris

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—Lt. General James Gavin (US Army-Retired). Gavin is the man who shook the nation in 1958 with charges that the US missile program was in desperate shape and that we were far behind Russia in this field.

Gavin retired in protest and the Democrats picked up the issue as one of their "bread and butter" 1960 campaign attacks; this, in spite of the fact that military experts known to be closer to the defense picture than was Gavin testified to the contrary. Last week President Kennedy's advisers —the same braintrusters who engineered the "missile gap" campaign propaganda—ate a Polaris-sized portion of crow when they admitted that, after probing the Pentagon, Ike was right and that there is no gap (see story below).

Most observers agree that the Gavin line, erroneous as it was, paid off for JFK. Therefore few in the Nation's Capital are surprised to see the Paris appointment—next to the Court of St. James, the biggest of all diplomatic plums—go to the diplomatically unskilled retired General.

• Republicans last week tossed a flurry of verbal barbs and brickbats at the Kennedy Administration for talking up a bogus missile gap during the campaign. Representative Melvin R. Laird of Wisconsin said that the worth of the Eisenhower defense policies was "admitted at last by their greatest detractors." He said Ike's policies "must be continued and not counteracted—expanded and not deflated."

Representative Thomas M. Pelly (R.-Wash.) sarcastically jabbed: "I am sure the members of this House must share my admiration for the speed with which the New Frontiersmen succeeded in closing the missile gap . . . Excepting only the Creation, I believe it is safe to say there is no parallel in recorded history for this amazing feat . . . ."

But the most telling shots were fired by Senator Styles Bridges. The New Hampshire Republican observed that the Administration "has shown an ability to reverse its field as quickly as the best college halfback. Touch football must give one a special talent . . . ."

Bridges said that Kennedy felt the need to squelch the candor of the Pentagon's missile report in order to avoid discrediting the Democrats' 1960 campaign tactics. "Kennedy's actions," Bridges said, "show that the new Administration is (1) confused, and (2) lacking in coordination. We only hope that the next four years of the Kennedy Administration will not be characterized by the same fumbling . . . ."

Capitol Camera: Although Ray Bliss (see Commentary section) leads for the post of GOP National Chairman, a boom has started for Representative William Miller of Buffalo (Chairman of the GOP Congressional Campaign Committee). Reason: (1) As head of the Campaign Committee, he won 22 new House seats for the party. (2) Strangely, both Rockefeller and Goldwater would reportedly agree on him (although Miller doesn't see eye to eye with Rocky). Also, GOP Ohioans don't want to let Bliss go yet—they say they need him to win the state election in 1962.

• *The Administration's clamp down on utterances of military men (witness its muzzling of Admiral Arleigh Burke who sounded off against Soviet Russia) has wide scope. Pentagon insiders say that another prominent military chief had some disparaging remarks about Fabian Socialism blue-penciled from a speech he was to make.*

• Another split in the camp of the victorious Democrats—Italian-Americans (most of whom voted for Kennedy) are said to be furious because none of their leaders have been given any even moderately important appointments. Pros interpret this omission by the Administration as continued evidence of the bitter feud between Irish and Italian elements in the party in New England and New York.

• *No little murmurs against Halleck, GOP House leader, for tardiness in making up his mind to back "Judge" Smith in the fight with Speaker Rayburn over the Rules Committee packing plan. Some conservatives say that if Halleck had cracked the whip soon enough, not more than a dozen Republicans would have voted with the Democratic Speaker (instead of the 22 who did so). In that event, Speaker Sam (and Kennedy) would have been rebuked by a majority of 15 votes, instead of winning by five.*

• While Senator Goldwater's warm oratory continues to win over his speech audiences, while he handles quiz programs wittily and forcefully, he has yet to learn how to put over his message on a TV debate. His recent performance, pitted against Senator Eugene McCarthy (D.-Minn.), disappointed many of his followers. (McCarthy disappointed the liberals, who had hoped the Minnesotan would flatten Goldwater.) The TV critics' judgment of the show: "A stand-off and a dull one at that." Like Nixon, Goldwater has not yet learned the successful technique for this tricky, but highly important, medium.

• *The special scientific advisory group that will counsel President Kennedy on a policy of atomic testing conspicuously excludes the foremost exponent of nuclear testing, Dr. Edward Teller. Teller told* HUMAN EVENTS *he wasn't asked to be a member and hadn't even known of the formation of such a group. Yet the group includes the foremost opponent of testing, Dr. Hans Bethe, who sided with J. Robert Oppenheimer in believing the US should not have developed the H-bomb.*

• Two self-styled "moderate" Democratic Congressmen, Carl Elliott of Alabama and B. F. Sisk of California, have been named by Rayburn to the House Rules Committee. "Moderate" Elliott has

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a 9 per cent conservative rating on the ACA-Index, Sisk a 5 per cent rating. These ratings are even lower than Kennedy's, which was 11 per cent.

• *Vice President Nixon's running mate, Henry Cabot Lodge, has congratulated the three Massachusetts Republicans—Silvio Conte, William Bates and Bradford Morse—who voted to pack the Rules Committee. A change of three votes would have defeated the Kennedy-Rayburn proposal.*

• Representative James Roosevelt (D.-Calif.) has introduced an Administration bill in the House that calls for a $1.25 minimum wage. The wisdom of a raise at this time is doubted by many economists who note that 14 per cent of the total unemployed are unskilled workers and that a rise in the minimum wage will freeze out of the market these and others who are earning less than $1.25. Further, while Kennedy's aim is to "stimulate" the economy, the Pennsylvania Employment Bureau announced last year that a $1 minimum wage forced retail sales outlets to cut their working staffs.

• *Comptroller General Joseph Campbell, an Eisenhower appointee, charges that the Air Force is squandering* $183 *million this year by requiring* 27,000 *officers to qualify for "unnecessary" flight pay.*

Goldberg: The new Secretary of Labor, Arthur Goldberg, met with the press and businessmen recently at Washington's National Press Club to outline labor policies for the New Frontier. Although he seemed sincere when he stated that he would play an impartial hand, his career-long pro-labor prejudices showed through.

Goldberg made it clear that he is not in favor of state right-to-work laws. He said that Section 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, which authorizes states to enact such laws, "would frustrate the Federal labor policy of permitting the parties to negotiate union shop agreements." But this point is historically incorrect. Under the old Wagner Act (passed in 1935 with enthusiastic liberal support, and the labor law until Taft-Hartley was passed in 1947), the states had the final say on labor laws, and in certain respects were free to act to a greater degree than under Taft-Hartley.

Goldberg also lauded the formation of a Federal tripartite commission to "further communication between labor and management." A veteran labor reporter told HUMAN EVENTS that "this commission, under the guise of 'nonpartisanship,' would be stacked in favor of labor—stacked with Archie Cox types—and Goldberg knows it."

Goldberg called on management to update plants and equipment in order to meet the challenges of foreign competition. Labor experts call this a "completely hypocritical line," saying, "Goldberg knows that many plants are prevented from installing much-needed modern equipment because unions are afraid of a reduction of the work force. This hurts management and worker alike."

When talking of foreign competition, it is pointed out, Goldberg might do well to take a closer look at excessive union wage demands which price American products—and the wage earners who produce them—out of the market.

Congo: The Belgian government has taken a strong anti-Communist stand concerning the question of how the Congo should be governed in the future—in unhappy contrast to the fuzzy American line emanating from the State Department and from Adlai Stevenson in the UN.

The Belgians want the Western powers to work out a joint policy to bar from positions of power in their former colony Communists such as former Premier Lumumba, now jailed in anti-Communist Katanga province. But the current American line appears to be leaning in favor of a Soviet-Afro-Asian plan to form a "federalized" regime, including Communists.

One heartening note from the American side came last week from an unexpected source. Senate Foreign Relations Chairman J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.) said that "any coalition that includes Lumumba would be very dangerous."

Few observers can foresee a firm Congo policy coming from Washington in the near future to replace the current futile approach of virtually allowing the various tribes to control matters. The most encouraging word to come from Assistant Secretary for African Affairs (and longtime Michigan red-ink governor who knows nothing of Africa) G. Mennen Williams is that State is "constantly re-evaluating all its positions."

Young GOP: Seventy-five members of the executive committee of the National Federation of Young Republicans recently braved 18 inches of New York City snow to attend their annual meeting. Delegates from all sections of the country attended.

Featured speakers included the two youngest members of Congress (both conservative Republicans who spoke at the HUMAN EVENTS Political Action Conference), John Ashbrook of Ohio and John Rousselot of California, and liberal Republican John Lindsay of Manhattan's 17th Congressional District.

Reports from the meeting are that Ashbrook and Rousselot received praise for their votes against the Rayburn Rules packing plan. Lindsay, one of the 22 Republicans who voted with Rayburn, was met with respectful silence as he stated his case. One of the country's highest-placed Young Republicans told HUMAN EVENTS:

GLENN CUNNINGHAM, Republican Congressman from Nebraska: "I read HUMAN EVENTS carefully. It has a great impact on me, and I know it has on loyal Americans everywhere. HUMAN EVENTS performs a real service in alerting the American public to the dangerous policies of the left-wingers."

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"The meeting certainly backed up the growing impression that the swing among youth is toward conservatism. Although no vote was taken because of absenteeism due to the weather, I have no doubt that all 75 present would have voted in favor of a resolution backing the Republican leadership on the Rules fight."

The "What did I say last night?" Department: Over cocktails one gentleman, known in political circles as "the smiling embracer," told Young Republicans that he thinks Barry Goldwater is wonderful and that he is really "quite close" to Barry's way of thinking. Who was the gentleman? Who else but Nelse?

Back Door Spending: One of Congress' growing legion of outstanding young conservatives, Arizona Republican John Rhodes, last week introduced a resolution aimed at ending what he termed "the irresponsible and dangerous practice of back door spending" by Federal agencies.

The Rhodes resolution would prohibit legislation authorizing the expenditure of Federal funds which have not been provided for in congressional appropriations acts (such as housing, slum clearance, etc.). It would also prohibit Federal agencies from creating obligations by contract in advance of appropriations. Rhodes stated that large amounts of money are being spent over which the Appropriations Committees of the House and Senate have absolutely no voice, adding: "Many people have no idea this is going on."

The Arizona lawmaker said that, under the Second Liberty Loan Act of 1917, *drafts may be made on the US Treasury to pay for programs which have been authorized but for which no money has been appropriated. He pointed out that the Constitution says: "No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law."*

In attempting to correct this "glaring loophole" in the Federal budget, Rhodes has already enlisted the support of several House members, including Rules Committee Chairman Howard Smith.

Payoff Time: President Kennedy recently restored Andrew Jackson's picture (which was exiled by Ike) to the Cabinet Room Wall. Very fitting, say Republicans, in view of current happenings and the fact that Jackson founded the "spoils system."

August Johansen (R.-Mich.) noted last week that Kennedy's new Postmaster General is putting pressure on 15 regional directors to quit, retire or accept demotion to make way for New Frontier favorites. Johansen also noted that 14 Kennedy appointees in a high civil service category are earmarked for jobs now held by regular civil service employees, and that the latter have been or may be reduced in grade or removed entirely—without charges. Interior Secretary Udall (who engaged in some rough tactics during the Rules packing battle) is politically screening all civil service people of grade five (such as stenographers) and up—something not even Democratic floor leader (and Kennedy home towner) McCormack could recall having been done before.

CBS vs. AMA: The Columbia Broadcasting System has in recent weeks seemed to be doing the bidding of the *New Frontier*. Since President Kennedy's theme is to speak softly to the Soviets, CBS initially declined to show a film it had produced on Soviet spying and then backtracked. And just last week CBS obliged Kennedy with plumping for his health program for the aged in a TV film called: "The Business of Health—Medicine, Money and Politics."

While the film was ostensibly an objective account of all sides of the health issue and even featured two AMA officials, the program definitely favored Kennedy's health program, which would be financed through social security.

The Board of Trustees of the American Medical Association was so disgusted with the way CBS presented the AMA's views it called the program a "monumental travesty upon the medical profession."

The AMA claimed that only four and one-half minutes of the hour-long presentation were devoted to its position, although Dr. Leonard W. Larson, president-elect of AMA, had spent five hours taping questions and answers. "The real truth about the AMA's position on medical care lies on the cutting room floor," charged the Board.

Appointments: Three Negroes will be named Ambassadors to non-African countries, predicts the Baltimore-Washington *Afro-American*. Ralph J. Bunche will become Ambassador to Italy; Dr. Benjamin Mays, Ambassador to Israel; and Clifton Wharton, Sr., Ambassador to Denmark.

Says the *Afro-American*: "By appointing top colored persons to non-African countries to remove the historical cry that they are 'second-class' citizens sent to 'second-class' countries, President Kennedy will be able to make even more effective use of colored Ambassadors to African countries."

An editorial in the *Afro-American* lists the names of all Representatives voting on the Rayburn Rules-packing maneuver. Those voting against the Rayburn plan are classified as "ENEMIES"; those voting for, as "FRIENDS."

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What You Can Do

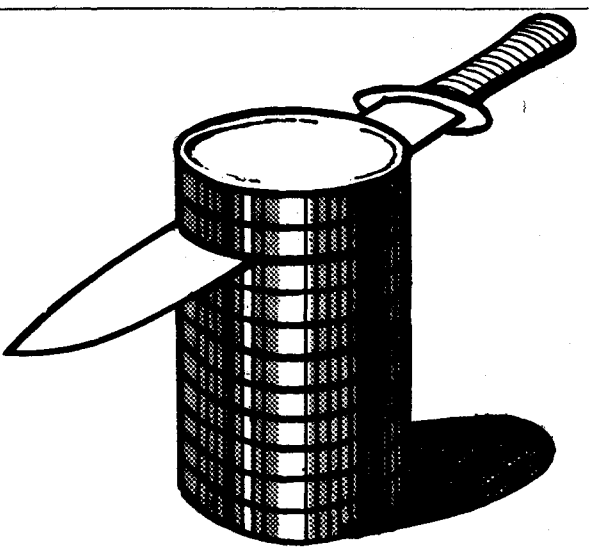
Human Events

A REGULAR FEATURE IN YOUR WASHINGTON REPORT . . .

Vol. XVIII, No. 7 — Section II

February 17, 1961

CUT YOUR INCOME TAX...



YOU DECIDE HOW MUCH

FELLOW TAXPAYER: We ask the privilege of discussing with you the question: *How To Cut Your Income Tax*—by as much as 15, 20, or 25 per cent.

If your reaction is, it can't be done, *this message is not for you.* You will be proving Professor Bangurehead's Law:

"Everybody's crazy, especially UNPROTESTING taxpayers."

However, if you are not indifferent, read on. Economy-minded members of Congress WANT you to become interested. THEY cannot cut government expenses—the preliminary to cutting taxes—unless YOU help.

The primary fact—more important than any financial saving to you—is that a *drastic reduction in the income tax is essential to the preservation of individual freedom.*

The smaller the proportion of his income that a person can keep, the *more dependent he is upon government*—just what the Communists want! Reduce the power of the enterprising and industrious by taxing away their earnings.

Communist objective No. 2: reduce the aged to abject despair by use of that old reliable Communist weapon—inflation. Embitter them by depriving them of their life-savings.

You are fighting for freedom itself when you enlist in this drive to reduce government spending and cut the income tax.

This is a DO-IT-YOURSELF project. You do it; then get your friends to do it.

Formula: the federal personal income tax yields roughly $40 billion a year. One billion is 2½ per cent of 40 billion. Every billion-dollar cut in federal expenses makes possible a 2½ per cent cut in personal income taxes.

Examine our list on the next two pages of just a few government expenditures. How much should they be cut? YOU decide.

If YOUR reductions total $6 billion, the income tax ought to be cut by 15%. If your total is $8 billion, the cut could be 20%; if $10 billion, 25%.

But you ask: But what can I—just one person—do?

Let Baron Rothschild answer: During the darkest moment of the Napoleonic wars when Napoleon's invasion was anxiously awaited, the Baron was asked by a startled Londoner, "What are you doing here?" REPLY: "I am here to save England." LONDONER: "But one man cannot save England." ROTHSCHILD: "He can try."

Can this drive succeed? Remember the Landrum-Griffin Labor Reform Law—dramatic proof that legislative miracles do happen.

After the 1958 election, Congress was two-thirds Democratic. Meany-Reuther expected to put through a weak labor-reform bill intended mostly to fool-the-public. Instead they got Landrum-Griffin. More than one-half the members of both Houses of Congress owed their election to the AFL-CIO, yet many with that sword of Damocles hanging over their heads, voted for Landrum-Griffin. They disobeyed the Labor Bosses. To save their political lives, they did not dare do otherwise.

Voters want a tax cut more than they wanted Landrum-Griffin. Furthermore, they want that tax cut NOW!

Let your two Senators and your Representative know what you want.

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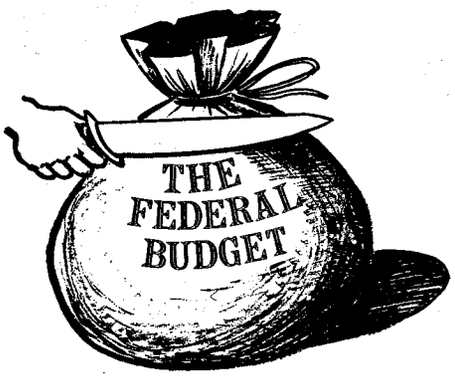
WHERE WOULD YOU CUT IT?



The column below contains our "recommended" cuts. These cuts are, if anything, too LOW.

	Reductions YOU FAVOR
Farm Support cut nearly $4 billion	$.....
Foreign Aid cut two-thirds: $2.6 billion	$.....
Return Ground Troops from Europe cut $1.5 billion	$.....
Federal Civilian Payroll 10% cut saves $1.3 billion 15% cut saves $1.95 billion	$.....
U. S. Information Service cut two-thirds: $70 million	$.....
Farm Extension Service cut $250 million	$.....
Public Housing	See Explanation
Small Business Administration cut $60 million	$.....
Rural Electrification cut $300-plus million	$.....
Civilian Defense cut one-half: $38 million	$.....
Hoover Commission Proposals Not Yet Adopted would save $2 billion	$.....
YOUR Cut	$.....

Our Cut: $8 to $12 billion.

Add up YOUR proposed reductions. See below the possible cut in YOUR income tax. (Each billion saved offers a chance to cut YOUR personal income tax by 2½ per cent.)

PERCENTAGE by which Your Personal Income Tax can be cut .....%

AMOUNT you can save based on the table below $.....

Estimate Your Personal Saving

For Married Couple with Two Children

Taxable income before exemptions	You NOW pay	Saving if federal budget is reduced by — 15%	20%	25%
$ 5,000	$ 520	$ 78	$ 104	$ 130
10,000	1,592	238	318	398
15,000	2,900	435	580	725
25,000	6,268	940	1,253	1,567
50,000	18,884	2,832	3,776	4,721

FARM SUPPORTS

FARM SUPPORT subsidies cost roughly $4 billion. In addition, they increase food and clothing costs.

Farm supports aid only 25% of farm production. Because of the artificially stimulated overproduction, supported commodities are the ones in trouble. Non-supported farm products are doing well.

Farm supports are wanted only by a minority of farmers. High support programs get through Congress ONLY because 32 BIG CITY Democratic Congressmen, representing slum and low-income districts, vote for high farm supports. Those Congressmen are voting to increase both the taxes and the food and clothing bills of their constituents! (Their names were published in a HUMAN EVENTS article October 27, 1960.)

Labor politicians, who control these Big City Congressmen, need farm Congressmen's votes. So a deal is offered to Congressmen representing cotton, tobacco, peanut, rice, and wheat districts: "Our Congressmen will vote for your farm support program if you will vote for our programs."

If $4 billion for farm supports is cut out, the Department of Agriculture will still have more than $2 billion a year to spend.

FOREIGN AID

FOREIGN AID and military assistance are budgeted for $4 billion. Giveaway Liberals think this amount far too small. They want big increases for Africa, Latin America and Asia.

WHY foreign aid? Japan, a primitive country a century ago, became in a short time one of the world's most powerful countries—without "foreign aid." During the nineteenth century, the United States got foreign capital by providing a political climate attractive to private investment.

Private funds have always gone to underdeveloped countries if allowed a return commensurate with the risk. If danger of confiscation is reduced, the expected return will be proportionately reduced.

If the Soviet Union wants to give away its resources to backward countries, why should we object? If backward people can be "bought," will they stay bought? They haven't stayed bought for us!

Perhaps one-third ($1.4 billion) of foreign aid and military assistance has a worthy purpose. A cut of two-thirds saves $2.6 billion.

FEDERAL CIVILIAN PAYROLL

$1.3 billion can be saved annually by reducing the Federal civilian payroll by 10%; a 15% reduction saves $1.95 billion. YOU decide the percentage. Federal civilian employees now total 2,360,000; payroll cost, $13.1 billion per year.

Parkinson's Law: In government, the work load expands to fill the time of all persons employed. Ten carbons can be called for on almost everything, the government's filing operations alone keeping vast numbers busy on "made work." Endless conferences eat up time. In government, passing the buck is standard operating procedure; the unpardonable sin is to make a mistake, NOT to do nothing. The larger the number under a supervisor, the bigger his pay.

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Lazy or incompetent workers, when dismissed, may demand a Civil Service "hearing" where they will accuse the supervisor of "discrimination"—if not something worse! To avoid the distasteful "trial," a supervisor asks for an ADDITIONAL employee; then he shunts the incompetent into a corner "to clip newspapers." NEED WE GO ON? Any good administrator, if given a free hand, could efficiently operate almost any government bureau with 10% to 30% fewer employees.

U. S. INFORMATION SERVICE

THE U. S. INFORMATION SERVICE AGENCY (USIA): Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands are more popular than the U. S. in nearly all areas of the world, except in their ex-colonies. Those countries spend a mere fraction of the $110 million spent by USIA. Sweden, Switzerland, Finland and other countries are far more popular than Uncle Sam; they spend ALMOST NOTHING. All these countries do little more than provide libraries (books and booklets about their countries) in their consulates.

The "superior race" assumption behind "U. S. leadership" is obnoxious to foreigners. We treat self-governing people as little children who must be led by the hand for fear they will think wrong thoughts and follow Pied Piper Communist leaders. If they are really that stupid, how can our propaganda programs give them political maturity?

But if it is our duty to "educate" people abroad, why not tell them the truth? Why don't we tell Socialist-dominated India that if its people want more of the good things of life, they must demand more capitalism and less socialism? We DON'T tell such truths because, if we did, USIA would be expelled from every Socialist-governed country. If Americans could listen to a one-day sample of the USIA programming sent abroad, they would demand that its appropriations be cut to not more than $30 to $40 million. You can save $70 million here.

RETURN TROOPS FROM EUROPE

Why are five U. S. divisions stationed in Europe? West European countries have a combined population far greater than the U. S.; why shouldn't they furnish all the ground troops necessary? Those countries are booming; why shouldn't they pay for all the conventional weapons needed?

The U. S. should maintain abroad "token" forces in symbolic spots like West Berlin to convince the Kremlin that aggression anywhere is aggression against the United States. Missile and Strategic Air Command forces should be continued. If our armed forces are reduced by five divisions, saving could be at least $1.5 billion.

CIVIL DEFENSE

Senator Stephen Young, Democrat of Ohio, wrote a magazine article calling Civil Defense a "billion dollar boondoggle," referring to 10-year expenditures. When a New Deal Democrat attacks a spending program, it must be outrageous. Man bites dog! Cut Civil Defense's $76 million appropriation by one-half.

SBA

$60 million could be saved by refusing to ADD to the present capital of the Small Business Administration (SBA).

Who shout loudest for bigger SBA appropriations? You guessed it: Congressmen who vote 100% for union-dictated tax, labor and welfare legislation—which hurts small business far more than big business. Every time a loan is granted, SBA notifies the proper Congressman so HE can notify his constituent: he thus gets credit for the loan. By this method, left-wing Congressmen put businessmen under obligation to them. This is political emasculation of the class most likely to oppose them at election time.

Out of the nation's 4 million small businessmen, less than 7,000 get loans. Some liberal Congressmen want an SBA office in each of the 437 Congressional districts. You can understand why.

If additional lending capital is refused, SBA (which ought to be ABOLISHED) will still be able to make new loans as old ones are repaid. SBA could remain at its present size, but IT COULD NOT GROW.

REA

Rural Electrification Administration was created 25 years ago to electrify rural areas. Taxpayers were solemnly promised that REA would serve that function alone. Today 97% of U. S. farms are electrified. But now the REA bureaucracy wants to expand into towns and cities served by private companies. Today non-farm users comprise over 80% of the new customers being added. REA borrows money at 2% from the U. S. Treasury, which pays 3½ to 4% to get that money. This is a subsidy from taxpayers everywhere for REA's consumers.

REA ownership can be transferred to local cooperatives. Future financing would have to be done outside the Treasury. Some $300-odd million could be saved.

FARM EXTENSION SERVICE

Indiana farm leader John C. Raber urges the Department of Agriculture to cut out its extension work, which is now duplicated by industry and land grant universities. Save $250 million here.

PUBLIC HOUSING

Subsidized new modern housing, costing $17,000 per apartment now, houses 1% of our population—500,000 families. The privileged families may have incomes up to $4,000 or $5,000 a year—higher incomes than millions of other families who proudly pay the full economic cost of less desirable housing. In addition, the poorer families pay their tax share of the subsidies for the privileged one per cent.

Taxpayers, local and Federal, would save billions over the 40-year subsidy period if each year's privileged 20,000 to 40,000 families were simply given DONATIONS of new $10,000 homes.

The Federal subsidies, costing roughly $160 million a year, are long-term obligations which grow as each year's new public housing is included. Because of the contractual nature of Federal subsidies, no amount is listed in the "Savings" column. We confine ourselves to this statement: Getting government out of public housing NOW would preclude subsidy requirements a decade hence of perhaps $1 billion a year.

HOOVER RECOMMENDATIONS

Three billion can be saved by putting into effect the Hoover Commission recommendations still being ignored, says Neil MacNeil, editorial director of the Hoover Commission. ("This Week" 1/22/61.) Some of the Commission's $3 billion have already been counted, but there still remain possible savings of more than TWO BILLION.

THE BASIC PRINCIPLE

An enormous saving would come from an understanding by taxpayers of one basic principle: That whenever a Congressman gets a million dollar project for his district, the cost of the project is really $437 million; he cannot get a million dollars for his district unless all other Congressmen get equivalent amounts for their districts. There is "no free Federal money." There is only "taxpayers' money."

Because of the widespread belief that "money from Washington" is manna from Heaven, many constituencies welcome projects costing a million dollars even though the project isn't intrinsically worth 25 cents on the dollar. The proof that it is not worth 25 cents on the dollar to them is that they would not be willing to tax themselves $250,000 for that project if its full cost had to be borne by the "benefitted" Congressional district. But they are pleased to get it when they think it comes to them "free."

If you will do your part toward teaching your fellow-taxpayers this first principle, your taxes can really be cut.

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'Everybody's crazy, especially UNPROTESTING taxpayers.'

Professor Bangurehead's Law

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As you finish reading each section of HUMAN EVENTS, place it in an envelope and mail it to somebody who should read it. Thus spreadeth the Gospel of Freedom.

HUMAN EVENTS

--- COMMENTARY ---

STATE OF THE NATION: Callers at the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization couldn't get an answer. All personnel had gone home because of a snowstorm.

Washington Daily News

Vol. XVIII, No. 7 — Section III

February 17, 1961

Bliss Leads Contenders For GOP Chairmanship

By Fulton Lewis, Jr.

The leading contender to succeed Thruston Morton as Republican National Chairman is a quiet soft-spoken bachelor from Akron, Ohio.

Morton himself calls Raymond Bliss the "best State chairman in the country" and it was Bliss who directed Richard Nixon's smashing triumph in Ohio. Morton is expected to retire from the National Committee within a few months to concentrate on a tough re-election fight coming up two years from now in Kentucky.

Bliss' backers are now talking up his candidacy and finding much support for the Buckeye State chairman. One of his chief supporters is Arizona's Senator Barry Goldwater, the acknowledged leader of his party's conservative wing.

Bliss has been a member of the National Committee's Executive Committee since 1952, and chairman for the last seven years of the Midwest and Rocky Mountain Republican State Chairmen's Association.

He took over as Ohio State Chairman in 1949, following the disastrous election campaign of the year before in which Harry Truman took the Buckeye State and the nation. Bliss, a stickler for organization, knew immediately many of the reasons:

More than 300,000 Republican voters did not vote, enabling Truman to carry the state by 7,107. A statewide registration campaign picked up 250,000 new Republican voters, and the Party was on its way back to dominance in the state.

In the 1950 elections, Bliss directed the campaign of Senator Robert Taft, who withstood tremendous labor opposition to beat his Democratic opponent by 431,000 votes. The GOP captured the State Legislature and in the legislative session that followed redrew Congressional boundaries virtually to guarantee Republican control of the Ohio Congressional delegation. (Following the 1958 elections, in which the Democrats swamped the GOP, the Republicans still controlled the House delegation, 14-9).

The Ohio state organization, under Bliss' direction, is probably the smoothest-running, most efficient group in the nation. GOP Committees, operating in each of the state's 88 counties, did an excellent job in getting out the vote for the entire GOP ticket.

NOT AMUSED

While Ohio went for Nixon by more than a quarter of a million votes, the GOP also won back control of the State Legislature and picked up several new Congressmen.

The GOP victory was all the more noteworthy because organized labor and the Democratic Party have become more powerful in recent elections, and in 1958 routed the Republicans at every level.

Despite the large Catholic vote as well as a heavy union population, the Democrats were unable to counter Bliss' 1960 organization. Also working in the Democrats' favor was large-scale unemployment in many areas of the state.

With the exception of California, Ohio was the only large industrialized state to go for Nixon. While considerable credit must go to Nixon, who has long been popular in the state, the major share of the glory belongs to Bliss.

High - Level Problem

The trouble with the presidency is that it takes a man four years to find out what the other 2,200,000 hired hands of the government do.

—Minneapolis Tribune

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Another Delinquency Probe

By Holmes Alexander

Senator Tom Dodd (D.-Conn.), who ordinarily knows better, is asking for more money for an investigation of Juvenile Delinquency. He contended that if Congress would hike the allotment from $150,000 to $178,000, the subcommittee could do more work, hold more hearings, publish more findings, bring more publicity to the subject, and pass more laws.

Oh, brother! Let's admit that crime among children is a dreadful and disgraceful thing in our country . . . . But is there any cure for adolescent viciousness in Federal law?

The record would say there is not. Senator Dodd admitted that since the Senate investigation of this ghoulish subject commenced eleven years ago, the cases in criminal courts had annually mounted till in 1959 there were 733,000 such cases. Senator Ellender (D.-La.) recalled that it all began when Ex-Senator Hendrickson (R.-N.J.) asked for a mere $75,000 to investigate on the argument that an informed Congress would pass wise and salubrious laws, that an informed public would rise up to destroy this curse upon our land and honor. But since that time, the probers have spent better than $1.4 million, and are still asking for more money each year on the same arguments.

Senator Dirksen (R.-Ill.) got into the act in a witty and mock-lugubrious lament for Ellender, or anybody else, who tried to stem the flood of investigation and legislation. Subcommittees, of which Dirksen said he belonged to more than he could either remember or attend, propagate like rabbits. An elaborate edifice of staff work, with disgraceful disregard for public money, rises up to the imperial glory of the chairman. Green-backed studies are published, given away, sold for trash—unread from first to last, noted Dirksen . . . .

Voltaire's dictum that society is better served by making two blades of grass grow in place of one than by all the frantic activity of statesmen has modern application. Send us the man who can cause fewer laws to pass! The country has need of him.

Sign of the Times

Noting that President Kennedy has assets of $10,000,000 and a gross annual income of half a million, a South Carolina editor says no wonder he objects to the newspapers calling him "Jack." The same editor reports a rumor in Washington that government workers are to be issued signs reading "Little Brother is Watching You."

—John Temple Graves

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A Kennedy Reverse

JFK on January 20, in his inaugural address: "Ask not what the government should do for you, ask rather what you can do for the government."

The next day the President's first official act was to order the Department of Agriculture to go into the open market and buy millions of dollars worth of canned pork and gravy. The order had a twofold object: to help the hog market and to add to the food budget of the unemployed.

Of Education

'Firm Federal Direction'

From the Nashville Banner

President Kennedy's choice as US Commissioner of Education—Dr. Sterling M. McMurrin, of Utah—is a man who believes in "firm federal direction" to keep the nation's schools from drifting off course.

He elaborates—and for his own interpretation of what he means, we quote:

"I see no reason why federal aid to education must mean some kind of federal dictation to local institutions . . . BUT without a strong, centralized government agency taking a firm hand in the educational direction of the nation, we are likely to drift in such a way that our educational institutions will not satisfy the demands of the nation."

A pedagogue does not ordinarily use words loosely, and "direction" is defined as "A directing; management; control." From it the noun "directive" derives, meaning "A general instruction or order issued by a central office."

Dr. McMurrin's concept of his official assignment is clear enough to be, on the very face of it, forbidding.

An Arrogant Union Plan

From the New York Daily News

Debate was staged in Detroit recently between a Ford Motor Co. man and a representative of the United Auto Workers.

In the course of the discussion, the UAW spokesman hinted that in next summer's negotiations over a new work contract the union may demand the right to tell auto makers where they may and may not locate their plants.

The idea in the case of Ford would be to forbid that company to move plants out of Michigan, or build plants in states where the UAW didn't want them built.

No answer was offered in this argument to the question why any manufacturer should want to locate or stay in Michigan, after years of union control of the state government and of ex-Governor G. Mennen (Soapy) Williams' costly welfare-statism.

This whole question, though, of how far unions may move into management seems likely to grow hotter as time goes by, and we'd all better keep attentive eyes on it.

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Washington's Inflow of Gold

By Walter Trohan

Never have so few had so much as the leaders of the new Administration in Washington, although the Democrats have been successful in presenting the image of the poor man's party.

For the first time in American history, the President and Vice President are multimillionaires. The Associated Press recently reported President Kennedy appears to have investment assets worth up to perhaps 10 million dollars, on the basis of an annual income from several trusts set up by his father, Joseph P. Kennedy, which bring him an annual income of $500,000 before taxes and about $100,000 after taxes.

Lyndon Baines Johnson, the Vice-President, had at least a half-million dollars and married more. Both fortunes have grown in value. He now enjoys his own private airport on his vast ranch.

Millionaire Presidents are not new, but millionaire Vice Presidents have been rare. Herbert Hoover was a man of wealth when he entered the White House and never accepted a salary from the American people. Franklin D. Roosevelt inherited a million from his mother, which grew to 2 millions at his death. Harry S. Truman entered the White House owing money, but was one of the few Presidents to save money and build up a fortune on his writings on his service in the Presidency.

Dwight D. Eisenhower was able to make net earnings of $562,000 on the sale of his war memoirs, "Crusade in Europe," under a special internal revenue ruling that permitted him to pay no more than the 25 per cent capital gains on gross earnings. In eight years stocks in the irrevocable trust he established are believed to have made him a millionaire.

When Democrats began attacking "false Republican prosperity" in 1956, Republicans were able to counter with the reply that if Adlai E. Stevenson, who revealed himself to be worth a half-million—largely inherited—when he was the Democratic candidate in 1952, held on to the stocks he listed, he would have doubled his fortune.

Stevenson, who has some wry things to say about Republican economy, never denied that he has become a millionaire. It is certain, too, that the Kennedy and Johnson holdings grew in value in the Ike years.

Other men of wealth in the Kennedy Administration include his brother, Robert, the attorney general, who shares in the same trust funds as the President, along with his sisters.

Secretary of the Treasury C. Douglas Dillon, who served as Ambassador to France and Undersecretary of State in the last Administration, inherited and swelled millions in a Wall Street brokerage firm. W. Averell Harriman, the roving Ambassador, inherited railroad and banking millions, and G. Mennen Williams, former governor of Michigan, who is Assistant Secretary of State in charge of African affairs, inherited soap millions.

Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara built a fortune with the Ford Motor Company, leaving its presidency to come to Washington. Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges, former governor of North Carolina, made a fortune in charge of mills and sales with Marshall Field & Co., Chicago merchandisers.

John J. McCloy, a nominal Republican who finds employment in Washington only in Democratic administrations, is a successful banker. He is White House disarmament adviser. Angier Biddle Duke, new protocol chief, inherited money from two of America's wealthiest families to finance a diplomatic career. Edward R. Murrow, new United States information service chief, parlayed broadcasting and stock purchases to become a TV millionaire.

David K. E. Bruce, Ambassador to Britain, is of a wealthy Maryland family. Chester Bowles, Undersecretary of State, made a fortune in advertising. John B. Connally, Jr., Secretary of the Navy, made a fortune in the practice of petroleum law, representing among others, the late Sid Richardson, one of the world's wealthiest men. George C. McGhee, an oil millionaire, was appointed Assistant Secretary of State.

As other diplomatic appointments and administrative appointments are made, the Democrats can make a pitch for being the party of millionaires as well as the party of Harvard.

Scare Tactics

By Congressman James B. Utt

The real secret of the President's State of the Union Message was this, to scare the American people into fear that everything was headed for wrack and ruin, and to condition the public to accept the welfare state as the only solution to the terrible condition in which he found the State of the Union.

Schlesinger Goofs

From the New York Daily News

A fiery debate was staged at Newton, Massachusetts, recently, between National Review editor William F. Buckley, Jr. and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., special assistant to the new President, on the subject of the welfare state.

Schlesinger praised the welfare state as a buttress against communism, and challenged the conservative Mr. Buckley to name one country in history which had sunk from welfarism to totalitarianism. Apparently Schlesinger, who calls himself a historian, doesn't know about the 19th and early 20th Century Germany. Welfare statism began there under Chancellor Otto von Bismarck (1815-98), and in the fullness of time gave way to the totalitarianism of Adolf Hitler. Next question.

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The House Rules Vote

Official Washington is still buzzing with stories about the extreme pressure exerted against Congressmen to string along with Kennedy-Rayburn on the vote to "pack" the House Rules Committee. Representative Charles M. Teague (R.-Calif.) cites the following examples:

"1. A Republican Congressman from California (facing possible extinction by re-apportionment) was told by Democrats in Sacramento that *if* he voted with the President and the Speaker his Congressional district would remain safe for him in 1962. He told the message-bearers to jump in the lake.

"2. Several Republican Members were contacted by a newly appointed Cabinet officer and advised that their chances for federal money for their districts would be affected by how they voted.

"3. Democrats who *knew* this move was unnecessary and unwise nevertheless got the distinct impression that unless they supported it they would not get the Committee assignments they wished and that federal appropriations for their districts would be most difficult to come by."

Congresswoman Katharine St. George (R.-N. Y.) tells how Mayor Wagner got into the act:

"The Mayor of New York City sent telegrams, presumably to every member of Congress, in which he said: 'THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK VOTED OVERWHELMINGLY LAST NOVEMBER TO ELECT JOHN F. KENNEDY AND GIVE HIM THE OPPORTUNITY TO RUN THE COUNTRY FOR THE NEXT FOUR YEARS. I MOST STRONGLY URGE YOU, REGARDLESS OF PARTY, TO GIVE THE PRESIDENT THE CHANCE TO ENACT HIS PROGRAM . . . .' Now this is interesting, because it lays down the thesis that the Chief Executive is the man who has the say on all legislation, on all programs, and that the legislative branch (the Congress) is there merely to rubber stamp the program. Why bother to have a legislative branch at all? The statement in the Mayor's telegram that I should give President Kennedy 'the opportunity to run the country for the next four years' is not my conception of America. To my mind no man is elected 'to run the country.' He is elected to execute the laws enacted by the people through their Representatives, and interpreted by the Courts. The idea that any president is elected to 'run the country' destroys my whole concept of checks and balances with three co-equal branches: the Judicial, the Legislative and the Executive. Maybe this form of government cannot long endure, but certainly under this interpretation it is on the way out already."

Chow Time

SIGNS OF OUR TIMES—Tacked up in a Washington, D. C. restaurant is a sign reading: "Free Lunch—Now $1." —Roll Call

Mystery Solved

In London, a Siamese cat is discovered to have a solid gold tooth. We knew the stuff was slipping out of the country but this is ridiculous.

—Cleveland Plain Dealer

Welfare in New Zealand

After a 28,000-mile tour of many foreign lands, Tom Anderson, Editor of Farm and Ranch Magazine, Nashville, Tennessee, says this about socialized New Zealand: ". . . nobody goes to bed hungry . . . . The average wage . . . is around $25 a week. Butter and other foods are government-subsidized—sold below cost. Medicine and doctors are 'free.' Few people have cars. Government owns and rent-controls a big portion of housing. There is no unemployment. Except for the old, the sick and the goldbrickers on government relief, everybody works—but not very hard . . . . Everybody's 'equal,' by government regulation . . . . One New Zealander bragged to me, 'We look at people like a sow looks at her litter—12 pigs all get the same treatment.' "

The United States is headed down the welfare state road (socialism) with federal power, federal housing, federal money loaning, federal wage-fixing and other federal activities limiting private opportunity. And coming up for consideration is compulsory federal medical aid, more compulsory wage and hour provisions, more compulsory taxation for so-called depressed areas, more federal support of education, plus many other political proposals to limit and restrict the field of private enterprise.

Of course, all these gifts, or services at cost, will in the long run be paid for by the recipients through taxation.

As Mr. Anderson says, in concluding his article, "We're being spent, planned, maneuvered, cheated and 'neutralized' out of our freedoms . . . (those) who refuse to take a stand remind me of Dante's classic indictment: 'The hottest fires of hell are reserved for those who, in a period of moral crisis, maintain neutrality.' "

College Opportunities

By Congressman Don L. Short

Kennedy indulges in a mis-statement of facts when he says 100,000 young men and women in the top 10 per cent of their high school classes could not go to college because their parents could not pay their way. Do you know of such a case in your community? It is true there are many parents who would find it difficult to send a child to college, but there are a great many sources of assistance available to worthy students who have a desire for higher education. There are countless student loan funds, many of which are not used to capacity, to say nothing of the innumerable instances of well-to-do people who are anxious to help ambitious young people through college.

Party Labels

From the Philadelphia Bulletin

European politics can be easy. If bothered by a party such as the "Conservative Liberals" of Belgium, all you have to do is remember that Thomas Jefferson, who called himself a Republican, is the patron of the Democratic Party of which Joseph S. Clark and James O. Eastland are both members in good standing.

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Edward R. Murrow—New USIA Chief

He Promises to Tell the Truth, Even When Not Flattering to the US

SOMEWHAT STARTLING was the announcement that President Kennedy had named Edward R. Murrow to head the United States Information Agency and to direct the broadcasts of the Voice of America to the world.

The announcement promptly sent shivers down the spines of hardened anti-Communists. For the services which Murrow will now direct have been operated by the US Government for the major purpose of combatting the gigantic Communist propaganda efforts to tarnish America's "image" abroad.

Yet, the record clearly demonstrates that Edward Roscoe Murrow has consistently presented biased, one-sided accounts of life in America which, not surprisingly, were frequently given further global circulation by Soviet agents for their own devious ends.

And he has done all of this in the name of "truth."

Which, Murrow now says, he intends to do with the USIA. "Whatever is done," he observed, "will have to stand on a rugged basis of truth." And he proposed to have the USIA tell the truth "even when it's not very flattering" to ourselves.

These remarks give rise to the following questions: Is Murrow contending that the USIA has not been telling the truth? And what is there in Murrow's career which would indicate that he, himself, has ever stood on "a rugged basis of truth"? And what does he mean by the "truth" anyway?

These are not just philosophical questions. For they go to the heart of Edward R. Murrow's capacity to lead a truth-telling venture against the around-the-clock Communist defamation of America.

For the truth is that if a foreigner had relied solely on Edward R. Murrow's "social documentaries" for a picture of America, that picture would undoubtedly have been of a nation dominated by witch-hunting "McCarthyites," where prostitution is a prop to merchandising in American business, where evil landowners exploit helpless migratory laborers, etc., etc., etc.

Moreover, Edward R. Murrow has rarely shown any clear understanding of the cruel adversary against which this nation has been pitted all these years in a life-and-death struggle. Yet, through a clever build-up based on his saturnine good looks and a taut doomsday voice, he has managed to project a virile authority on world affairs. But it is an authority based on left-wing cliches picked up from associations with the likes of V. K. Krishna Menon, whom Murrow has known since the late thirties.

The most recent example of his muddled thinking on communism was provided last December in CBS's annual "Years of Crisis" talkfest in which the network's correspondents were questioned by Murrow.

"Howard," Murrow asked Howard K. Smith, "it is now possible, don't you think, in this country to engage in a serious discussion regarding the recognition of Communist China?"

And Smith, obligingly, said that it was, noting that "Mr. Chester Bowles has spoken very boldly on the subject in the past and I presume he will . . . speak more boldly on it in the future."

"It's less a recognition of Red China than a recognition of reality," chimed in Alexander Kendrick.

And here you see the Ed Murrow technique. His question, of course, was based on an absurdity: his frequently-expressed thesis that such topics as recognition of Red China have been ruled out by what he once described as "self-appointed fear-breeding arbiters of what is right and what is wrong." (The truth is that the subject has been passionately discussed for years—and even on Murrow's own programs.)

YET ED MURROW, himself, is a self-appointed arbiter of what is right and what is wrong. He has, through the years, taken it on himself to deliver unfair, generalized attacks on veterans organizations, American businessmen and his own industry. He has constantly bemoaned the fact that Americans are too affluent. "We haven't had the experience in the last two wars of the other countries, nor the scars of the British, French and Russians," he declared in 1958. "Not having had the experience, we need the understanding to make ourselves a little more sensitive, apprehensive and generous and this is a terribly difficult thing to do. It may be impossible. I don't know."

One wonders what Murrow is talking about—particularly when one realizes that he has been earning over $200,000 a year, living in a seven-room Park Avenue apartment and on a farm in Pawling, N. Y. Non-conformity has paid off quite well in Murrow's case.

It was in 1959 when Murrow narrated an expose of the use of sex in business, in which anonymous voices, identified only as those of call girls, press

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agents and businessmen, described how prostitutes were engaged to help swing business deals. The hour-long production became known as "Murrow's call-girl show." The National Association of Manufacturers accused Murrow of the same smear tactics that "he alleged were used by the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, a man whom he pilloried unmercifully and unfairly." It also charged that the "chief beneficiary" of the broadcast was the labor unions "who desperately need something to divert the public spotlight from their own wrongdoings to the sins of business, even if, as in this case, the 'sins' turn out in the end to be mostly a hoax." And the NAM repeated the New York *Journal-American's* contention that the broadcast was "a prize package for the propaganda machine of international communism."

Which, indeed, it turned out to be.

As did the more recent Murrow telecast on migratory farm workers entitled "The Harvest of Shame," an hour-long documentary of US farm conditions which provided a major windfall for Iron Curtain apologists. The production was labeled more fiction than fact by the American Farm Bureau Federation, which said, among other things, that it was "shocked at the lack of responsibility demonstrated by the Murrow clique." And the other day, Congressman Robert H. Michel (R.-Ill.) published an exhaustive analysis of the Murrow-narrated documentary in the *Congressional Record*, winding up with this observation:

> **"And finally, Mr. Speaker, since Edward R. Murrow, a co-producer of this show, has recently been appointed by President Kennedy as Director of the US Information Agency, I hope that he will not find it necessary to distort the facts so grossly as was done in 'Harvest of Shame' when he enunciates our position and policies to the rest of the world."**

Ed Murrow's penchant for distorting the facts in his search for his version of the "truth" was once noted by—of all people—Mrs. Dorothy Schiff, publisher of the ultra-liberal New York *Post*. In fact, back in 1955, Mrs. Schiff actually criticized Murrow—one of eggheadery's outstanding heroes—as "biased."

And—praise be the mark!—Mrs. Schiff, in the process, also belted another of eggheadery's sterling characters, Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer.

Occasion for this untoward event in the history of US "liberalism" was a 1955 decision by the Alcoa Co. to cancel sponsorship of Murrow's "See It Now" show.

Ordinarily the event would have aroused passionate denunciations of Alcoa for capitulating to the "know-nothings," the New York *Post's* favorite term for anti-Communists. Instead, Mrs. Schiff pointed out that Alcoa had continued sponsorship for a year after Murrow's telecast ripping the late Senator McCarthy to pieces, about which the female publisher apparently had no qualms. The "proverbial straw," she wrote, may have been the "sympathetic interview conducted by Murrow . . . which seemed biased in favor of Oppenheimer."

By all ADA (Americans for Democratic Action) rules, Murrow had no choice but to be "sympathetic" with Oppenheimer, objectivity notwithstanding. To respectable conformists, lack of objectivity is sin only when indulged in, say, by a Fulton Lewis or a George Sokolsky. It was perfectly proper in the case of an Ed Murrow.

Mrs. Schiff, whose newspaper rarely could be accused of ever reporting a fact straight, nevertheless was troubled by Murrow's Oppenheimer telecast. It "worried" her, she reported, "because the Oppenheimer case does not seem to me and other liberals, such as former Senator Benton and Secretary for Air Finletter, a clear-cut issue on which liberals can make a fight."

Thus, Mrs. Schiff conceded the government might have acted wisely in suspending the physicist's "Q" clearance. She added:

"Murrow asked Oppenheimer only questions that tended to put him in the best possible light. The impression left with the uninformed viewer was that of a hero and a martyr. Murrow did not ask anything which would have raised doubt concerning the character of his protagonist. Why, for instance, was Oppenheimer in favor of research on the H-bomb in 1944 but opposed in 1949? Was not the moral issue the same?"

Many a New York *Post* reader, inured to a steady diet of hair-raising tales of villainous "McCarthyite" activities, by now must have swallowed their ADA buttons in amazement. For Mrs. Schiff went on to criticize the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Republic for distributing film versions of the interview.

"I deplore this," she wrote, "because those who see it will not have read the huge amount of material in the case. They will leave reinforced in what many of them would prefer to believe—that a great man has been grievously wronged."

It is one of those ironies that through the years Edward R. Murrow's "objectivity" has been highly touted. A gushing *New Yorker* profile actually reported in late 1953 that "among the public men who have commended Murrow for his fairness is Senator Joseph McCarthy."

An admiring associate was quoted as asserting that Murrow is "too much a fanatic about being a reporter to throw in a lot of opinions when he thinks the facts will make the point by themselves."

AND THERE, in a nutshell, is the Murrow technique—the painstaking selection of facts which "will make the point" he wants made. Murrow is a master at this technique, having employed it for years on radio. On TV, he has perfected the technique of editing film in a manner shrewdly

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calculated to illustrate any point he wants made. Yet, as he sits back, puffing a cigarette, he is able to appear the acme of objectivity.

For example, in his TV coverage of a dispute between Indiana's American Legion and the American Civil Liberties Union, the Legionnaires were made to look like a collection of Fascist-minded crackpots, while the civil libertarians appeared like decent small-town folk. As the New York *Herald-Tribune's* John Crosby summed up the total effect: "Mr. Murrow showed the two meetings—the Legion's and the Civil Liberties Union—jumping back and forth from the regimented atmosphere of the Legion's to the democratic reasonableness of the Union's . . . Murrow simply presented the facts (and the faces) and let them speak for themselves."

Murrow's selection of faces is typical of his technique. Writing of another "liberal-conservative" imbroglio, telecast by Murrow, the New York *World Telegram and Sun's* Harriet Van Horne commented on a New Jersey right-wing women's group as consisting of "American Gothic-types, grim as granite." Apparently, Murrow's liberal gals would put Marilyn Monroe to shame.

Murrow's unfair use of film never was more vividly demonstrated than in his telecast which made McCarthy look like a giggling psychopath. Even the Senator's most vehement critics will admit he was anything but that. The *New Yorker's* Dick Rovere, for example, called him "a political figure of the first rank . . . quite possibly an authentic genius."

For the most part, liberals applauded the hatchet-job. But there were a few significant exceptions. The *Saturday Review's* Gilbert Seldes, for example, as much as he despised McCarthy, nevertheless was troubled. "The people who roared with delight," he wrote, "should ask themselves quickly how they would have felt if the same technique had been applied to someone they liked—for example, to the Stevenson whom McCarthy so coyly called 'Alger—I mean Adlai.' "

McCarthy, of course, made his "coy" observation as a political partisan during a political campaign. Whatever his merits, McCarthy never claimed to be "impartial."

Murrow, however, claimed to be an "impartial" commentator who aimed at presenting all sides of an issue.

The fact is, as the anti-McCarthy *Commonweal's* John Cogley pointed out, certain other commentators, through a different selection of film, easily could have shown McCarthy to be "a man on a shining white steed—infinitely reasonable (and) wholly without self interest . . . I believe film footage could be found to suggest these noble attributes."

Cogley pointed out that the "Murrow show has set a potentially dangerous precedent which those who are now applauding it may find good reason to regret in time to come."

The wonder is that Murrow has been able to get away with it. In 1955, for example, when the then Senator Knowland suggested a blockade of Red China as a method of freeing imprisoned US flyers, Murrow recorded a Stanford University lecture by Professor Thomas Bailey, who had declared that blockades, at best, were futile, and, at worst, could lead to war. Murrow's only editorial comment was that Bailey was not famous. "But after all," he added, "knowledge and judgment are not necessarily linked to fame."

The New York *Post's* Jay Nelson Tuck gushed over this exhibition of "courage." Murrow, the TV critic contended, "had cut [Knowland] into small, gory splinters." The fact Murrow did not present Knowland's side of the argument appeared unimportant.

This telecast demonstrated still another facet of the Murrow technique—that of letting others, like Professor Bailey, do his fighting for him. Murrow has even dipped into the classics and has quoted such figures as Lincoln, Diogenes, Mark Twain or Holmes on contemporary affairs about which none of them could possibly have been expected to have had advance judgments. Quoting the ancients, however, permitted Murrow to make his points without appearing to be giving his own opinions.

ONCE Murrow concluded a broadcast, thusly: "Bertold Brecht, German poet—and an exile himself—put it this way: 'A man can be free even within prison walls. Freedom is something spiritual. And whoever once had it, can never lose it. For while the body can be bound with chains, the spirit can never!' "

Few listeners probably knew that Brecht was then Soviet Germany's leading "cultural light." Needless to say, quoting a Commie on "freedom" is absurd.

Murrow has occasionally even voiced opinions directly. As when he pooh-poohed then Attorney General Brownell's charges against the late Harry Dexter White, insisting the "practice" of accusing a dead man of espionage "without producing evidence" could well "be applied to you or to me." In effect, he accused Eisenhower of condoning "false accusations." (Curiously, Ike later was to defend Murrow as a "friend," when McCarthy struck back at the commentator.)

Murrow long has been in the forefront of those opposed to "harsh" security measures. He has defended Alger Hiss, John Stewart Service, John Paton Davies and Owen Lattimore. The latter acknowledged Murrow's assistance in June, 1950, when he published *Ordeal by Slander*.

"Before I could speak for myself," wrote Lattimore, Murrow "kept the record straight by repeatedly drawing attention to the fact that nothing had been proved against me. Later, by . . . using recordings, he gave me a national forum for my own,

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so that millions of people could hear me speaking for myself, in excerpts from my testimony."

In private life, Murrow has gone to bat for others suspected, with cause, of left-wing sympathies. He testified in behalf of one Joe Julian, a radio writer who brought a libel suit against "Red Channels" for listing him among "pro-Communist" show folk. (The suit eventually was dismissed by Judge Irying Saypol.)

Although Murrow has persistently berated anti-Communists in government, including Richard M. Nixon, Senator Mundt and Scott McLeod, he has never devoted much time to exposing the evils of communism. He constantly underrates the Red menace, both internationally and at home.

"I yield to no one in my desire to root out subversion," he declared in 1954 on receiving the Freedom House Award. (According to a recent count, Murrow has received over 150 awards from various liberal organizations.) "But I insist on a broad definition for subversion. I call subversion anything that subverts our political order, whether it be giving active aid to an enemy or curtailing the freedom of the democracy to deal with its own imperfections."

What Murrow was saying, in effect, was that those who fought subversion were as subversive as the subversives they were fighting. You figure it out!

In February, 1955, when debate was raging on the Formosa issue, Murrow interviewed Prime Minister Nehru for "See It Now." A "great statesman" in Murrow's book, Nehru, as was to be expected, urged a sell-out of Chiang Kai-shek.

Previously Murrow had leaped on the US Military and US Naval Academies for refusing to permit cadets and midshipmen to debate the question of recognizing Peiping. And Senator A. Willis Robertson, a Democrat, told the Senate he "regretted" Murrow's attitude. The Virginian pointed out it was US policy to oppose UN admission of Peiping. Since every boy who enters a service school is subject to military regulations, he added, "they have no more right to publicly challenge the foreign policy of the Commander-in-Chief than do the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

"Mr. Murrow's word for today that it is better to debate a decision before it is reached than to debate the decision afterward is a good theory when properly applied," Robertson concluded.

NEEDLESS TO SAY, the *Worker* has frequently praised Murrow. This, of course, does not make him a Communist. But the Communist rag does not usually praise anti-Communists. The *Worker*, for example, was particularly exuberant over Murrow's telecast of the case of an Air Force Reserve Lieutenant adjudged a security risk. Following the telecast the Defense Department was flooded with protesting letters. Consequently, the then Air Force Secretary reversed the Air Force's earlier decision.

In 1955, the *Worker* praised Murrow for his telecast on "book-burning." Murrow had dug up a Los Angeles housewife, Mrs. Anne Smart, who had been circulating a list of books she considered objectionable in school libraries. Admittedly some of the listings were debatable. But it was Mrs. Smart's contention that the unguided distribution of certain books could do damage to the mentally immature and emotionally volatile. This is pretty much what Senator Estes Kefauver, no book-burner he, had been saying in his then current pornography probe.

Although Mrs. Smart had her say for a few moments, the net effect of the Murrow telecast was to hold her up to ridicule. Murrow apparently did not realize that, in protesting, Mrs. Smart was exercising her rights as an American. Only in a dictatorship is a private citizen prevented from making such criticism.

Whatever the merits of her argument, Mrs. Smart was willing to stand up and fight for her convictions—unlike the school librarian whom Murrow's cameras showed in silhouette, supposedly frightened lest her identification lead to reprisals.

Murrow's sophisticated summation of the results of the Los Angeles controversy was: "Five banned books have been returned to the shelves; ten are still missing. We can only deduce from this operation that some of our books are missing."

And, a good thing, too, considering that one of the "missing" books is one in which Pearl Buck interviews Mrs. Paul Robeson—an anti-US treatise, naturally.

Murrow, of course, has every right to defend pro-Communist books. And he is fully entitled to his left-wing views. He has no right, however, to claim to be a disinterested observer. As he himself once stated to the New York *Herald Tribune*, "I have never known a completely objective reporter. Each man is to some extent a prisoner of his own experience."

But all of this hardly qualifies him to represent American opinion abroad as Director of the US Information Agency.

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